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titude of mysterious, evil forces which he endeavours either to ally himself with, propitiate, or combat in order to assure himself of good luck or avert the many calamities which these supernatural powers may bring. Magical beliefs and practices are therefore widespread and deeply rooted among the people. Even where the church has opposed and tried to counteract the older notions and usages, its success has been at best only partial. What it often has effected was a change in form, or the substitution of an authorized rite for an ancient magical practice.[2] The priest, for example, sometimes takes the place of the sorcerer by holding a special midnight Mass, the *czorna służba* (black service), at the instigation of a person who wishes to harm an enemy.[3] At other times he acts as medicine man, e.g. by stepping over the back of an ailing parishioner in order to relieve his backache.[4] A case of substitution is noticeable in the rite observed before moving into a newly constructed house. Wherever the old practices of sacrificing a black rooster, as an offering to the Devil or as a preventive against disease, has become extinct, its equivalent has appeared in the solemn consecration of the house by the priest.[5]

Among the Ukrainians, as elsewhere, magical beliefs and practices have two main aspects, which may be termed respectively the black and white arts. While the former has its prime source in the arch enemy of man, the Devil, the latter, which functions mainly to counteract evil influences, relies on some powerful medium, sometimes God himself, to neutralize or overcome the

Russian, people inhabiting South Russia. They occupy the eastern section of the former Austrian province of Galicia, which is at present part of Poland. They number approximately 3,000,000 and belong almost exclusively to the peasant class. Geographically, and to a certain extent also culturally, they may be divided into lowlanders and highlanders, the former inhabiting the plains to the north and the latter the Carpathian mountains to the south.

[2] Kaindl, R. F. "Zauberglaube bei den Rutenen in der Bukowina und Galizien," *Globus*, lxi, 282.

[3] Kaindl, R. F. "Zauberglaube bei den Kuzulen," *Globus*, lxxvi, 277.

[4] Kaindl, R. F. "Neue Beitraege zur Ethnologie und Volkskunde der Huzulen," *Globus*, lxix, 71.

[5] Kaindl, in *Globus*, lxi, 282.

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forces of evil. The agents of the former include the witch and the wizard; and those of the latter, the fortune-teller, the soothsayer, the conjuror, and, in cases of sickness, the healer. Between these two groups of "professional" intermediaries between the supernatural and natural worlds stands the ordinary non-professional man or woman, who, by using certain formulas or more concrete means, can also invoke superhuman intervention.

A person associated with powers of evil, though difficult or impossible to recognize by ordinary means, since he usually looks exactly like any other human being, can be singled out much more easily by his actions, and especially by the results he is supposed to obtain. Thus a successful person, it is thought, is necessarily allied in one way or another with the Devil, or his assistants. A man who has luck in hunting or fishing is undoubtedly in communication with the Devil.[6] A woman who repeatedly returns from the woods with her basket full of mushrooms, or whose cow continuously yields more than an average quantity of milk, is nothing but a witch who is using her unholy powers to her own profit and, usually, also the detriment of her neighbours.[7] Indeed, there is not a wealthy or successful person in the village or town who is not in league with the Devil.[8] A peasant, therefore, who has luck with his crops and cattle most likely receives help from evil spirits, and a manufacturer who makes money from his factory in town does so because he has demons to work for him.[9] Thus, although there exist special means of detection, which, as we shall see, are made use of when necessary, mere good fortune is the simplest criterion.

Among individuals occupied with the black art, the witch (*widma*) wields by far the greatest power.[10] Just as after death she becomes the most feared of evil spirits, so during her life she is considered the most dangerous of the Devil's disciples. The

[6] Kolberg, O. *Pokucie, Obraz Etnograficzny* (Kraków, 1882-89, 4 vols.), iii, 12.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 114. [8] Kaindl, in *Globus*, lxxvi, 229, 232.

[9] Onyščuk, A. "Materyaly do huculskoi demonologii," *Materyaly do Ukrainskoi Etnologii* (Lviw, 1909), xi, 73.

[10] Kaindl, in *Globus*, lxi, 280.

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people know, therefore, of no more derogatory term to apply to a woman than "witch."[11] In her ordinary life, the *widma* resembles other women in every respect; only in action does she take on a weird or unhuman aspect. Then she is found walking around in a totally nude state with her hair in disorder, carrying in her right hand a baking spatula or a broom and in her left a bucket filled with milk stolen from strange cows.[12] She may also appear in the form of a dog, mouse, cat, or other animal,[13] of a flashing, transparent ball rolling in the air,[14] or of sparks escaping from a chimney.[15]

The *widma* is not only a close ally of the Devil, but also a faithful servant ever ready to fulfil his commands. Besides the personal advantage which she derives from her destructive activities, she experiences a devilish pleasure in harming people, especially those whom she considers her enemies. Quiescent during the daytime, she begins her depredations only after dusk (*pidweczer*).[16] Nobody in the house is aware of her activities, for only her spirit leaves, her body remaining in a sleeping or dormant state. But if her spirit experiences any harm during its nightly excursions, the mark of the injury is registered simultaneously upon the motionless body at home.[17] Its activities finished, the spirit returns to the body, but can re-enter it only if it has remained in exactly the same position as it was left; otherwise the body cannot come to life again. It is enough to turn the body over to prevent the spirit from becoming re-united with it.[18] Thus during the Austro-Prussian war a soldier stayed overnight with a certain family. He became aware that the housewife was a witch and decided to play a trick on her. After her spirit had left, he turned the body over. Since, as a consequence, the spirit could not re-enter it, the woman was found lifeless when morning came. However, when the husband, thinking his wife dead, had summoned his neighbours and begun to make funeral preparations, the soldier

[11] Kaindl, in *Globus*, lxi, 280. [12] *Idem*. [13] Kolberg, *Pokucie*, iii, 131.

[14] Szuchiewicz, W. *Huculszczyzna* (Lwów, 1902-8, 4 vols.) iv, 283.

[15] Kaindl, in *Globus*, lxxvi, 231. [16] *Idem*.

[17] Kolberg, *Pokucie*, iii, 131 [18] *Ibid*., pp. 130-31.

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admitted his guilt. The body was then put into its former position, and immediately thereupon it came to life.[19]

Witches form a well defined hierarchy in which four separate grades are distinguished. Those of the first and lowest rank are witches by birth. If a pregnant mother swallows a live coal that has fallen into a dish of food, especially one cooked on Christmas Eve, her child will be born a witch or a wizard, depending upon its sex. A witch of this type has a small tail, and begins her supernatural activities as soon as she grows up. Her association with the Devil having been established by birth rather than by voluntary choice, she is definitely less powerful than one who has acquired her prowess through her own effort. Next in rank and in power is the witch by training, i.e. one who had been trained in the art from earliest childhood by her mother, herself a witch. Some hold that such women also have tails, "but nobody can ever see them, for they succeed in hiding them even from their own husbands." Although higher in rank than the first type, the witch by training, not having chosen her career through her own volition, cannot compare in power to a witch of the third category, one who has allied herself voluntarily with the Devil in her ripe years. Of still greater potency is the witch who has grown up from a foundling girl placed by the Devil himself, through the *diwe baby* (mysterious women), under the care of her foster parents. Within the hierarchy there is constant strife; witches of higher rank assert themselves to the detriment of their inferiors.[20]

Every witch has her speciality, her own sphere of activity which she does not exceed. Thus there are witches of cows (*wid korow*), of sheep (*wid owec*), of goats (*wid kiz*), of ducks (*wid husij*), of swine (*wid swynyj*), etc. Each knows the limit of her power (*znaje wid sebe*), and permits no other, especially one of equal rank, to encroach upon her rights.[21]

The time of the witches' activities is the night, especially the three hours immediately following midnight. Although any night is appropriate, the most opportune times are the nights preceding important holidays, i.e. those before Christmas and Easter, and particularly the eves of SS. George, Onufri, and John,

[19] *Ibid.*, p. 130. [20] *Ibid.*, pp. 111-14. [21] *Ibid.*, pp. 114-15.

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754 which fall respectively on the twenty-third of April and the twelfth and twenty-fourth of June (Julian calendar).[22] On these special nights the witches usually foregather for sessions with the Devil on the *Lysa Hora* (Bald Mountain), an unapproachable crest in the Carpathians, thought by the people to be the rendezvous for all the witches in the world. Each witch rides to the meetings on the back of her own wizard, or else uses a baking spatula as her steed, urging it on with a broom. The sessions are devoted, first of all, to reports on the accomplishments and to the receiving of future instructions from the Devil, who presides. At these conferences, witches accused of exceeding the prescribed limits of their activities are formally tried, and those convicted are punished. Every witch must attend in person, or, if unable to do so, must send a substitute chosen from among the peasants. Such an individual, although present at the conference, hears nothing of what goes on, except what refers to himself, i.e. to the witch he represents.[23]

The fields of activity of the various witches embrace practically everything of concern to man, from personal affliction to bad luck with cattle and extremes in weather, and the means they employ are equally varied. They need only stare at a person, or animal, to harm him. Much more effective is their spoken work, their curse. Their favourite methods of causing injury, however, are those called "throwing under" (*pidsypuwały*) and "putting under" (*pidłożyty*). The former consists in scattering ashes or thorns on a path; people or cattle traversing it will then be attacked by serious diseases. A witch may also wash her shirt before sunset and sprinkle the water on a path her victim is to use. This alternative method of "throwing under" causes sundry women's diseases. Similar consequences flow from "putting under," in which the witch puts part of a dead animal, usually a bat wrapped up in a cloth, under the doorstep of the victim. Other means used by witches include herbs gathered on St. John's Day, mercury, and the dried scales of snakes. Witches also have power to send bears and wolves to kill man and cattle. In order to cause famine they sell across the border grain which is in the process of ripening; as a result the

[22] Kaindl, in *Globus*, lxi, 280. [23] Kolberg, *Pokucie*, iii, 109-10.

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country on the other side has plenty while there is starvation at home.[24] Witches are also held responsible for hails, storms, floods and drought.[25]

The commonest speciality of witches, however, is the bewitching or drying up of cows. The methods and means employed are many. Some believe that the *widma* simply milks the cow once in the usual way. Others assert that she takes some milk from the victimized cow, especially on the eve of St. George or St. John, and with it smears the teats of her own cow, which then gives milk in abundance while the udder of the bewitched animal dries up or yields only blood. According to some, the witch need not even actually touch or see the cow she wishes to charm; she has only to think of a particular animal to receive her milk which in such a case flows from a door post, table, bench, or other object in the house.[26] Hence a witch does not actually have to possess a cow in order to have milk. "Marusia of Ispas never had a cow, but nevertheless always enjoyed an abundant supply of milk, and even had enough to sell; this astounded the people greatly until Petro Hyrak once came to her and found her milking a board."[27]

Although hated and despised, a witch must never be openly insulted or mistreated. In mentioning a witch, one should always append a curse, such as: "May she disappear"; "May the Devil stand between her eyes and the bear between her shoulders."[28]

The wizard (*opyr*), although as harmful as his female counterpart, is considered lower in rank and is, in general, less frequently encountered.[29] He is even forced to serve the witch, e.g. as the steed on which she rides to her meetings, but he has the power to counteract any harm she may intend to do him.

[24] Kaindl, in *Globus*, lxxvi, 232-3.

[25] Kaindl, R. F. "Wetterzauberei bei den Rutenen und Huzulen," *Mittheilungen der k.k. geogr. Gesellschaft in Wien*, xxxvii, 637.

[26] Kaindl, in *Globus*, lxxvi, 254.

[27] Kolberg, O. *Przemyskie* (Kraków, 1891), p. 128.

[28] Kaindl, in *Globus*, lxxvi, 231.

[29] Kolberg, *Pokucie*, iii, 109.

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754 The *opyr* is born, not made. He, too, has a tail, and his sex organs differ from those of a normal man, for which reason he is infertile and childless.[30] Some hold that he changes his sex every month.[31] A *misiecznyk*, as such a person is called, can be identified much more easily than the witch by his unusually rosy cheeks (*wse w lycy czerwonyj*).[32] Wizards, too, have their individual specialities, and they are especially careful not to encroach upon the spheres of activity of the witches. There are, for example, wizards of hunting, of fishing, and of horses.[33] But just as the witches are particularly interested in harming cattle and in diverting the milk of cows, so the wizards centre their chief attention on the weather. They produce torrents, droughts, hail, and snowstorms. For this purpose they gather raindrops, dew, and water from thawing snow into a vessel, and frost, snow, and storms into a bag or the skin of an animal. If a wizard lets so much as one drop of water from his vessel fall into a river, a torrent or flood follows immediately; if he presses upon his bag, frost and snowstorm ensue. Once, it is said, the wizards kept the sun covered by clouds for seven weeks, as a result of which excessive downpours, crop failure, and famine occurred.[34]

754 789 It is obviously of great advantage to the people to detect a witch or wizard operating in their village. Although they can do so at almost any time, there is no more opportune occasion than the eve of a high holiday. Thus in order to determine whether a suspected woman is really a witch, one method is to steal three chips of wood before sunrise on nine consecutive days. When a fire is built with the chips, the woman, if she be really a witch, will not fail to come to the house to borrow something; however she may beg and entreat then, she should never be believed, because only thus does she lose her power to bring harm upon the house.[35]

[30] Kolberg, *Pokucie*, iii, 110-13. [31] Kaindl, in *Globus*, lxxvi, 230.
[32] Kolberg, *Pokucie*, iii, 113. [33] *Ibid.*, p. 119.
[34] Kaindl, in *Globus*, lxxvi, 230. [35] Kaindl, in *Globus*, lxi, 281.

755 Although the *znachor*, especially one of reputation, can diagnose and treat any disease, he often specializes in particular ailments, e.g. fevers, paralysis, headaches, or snake-bite. He keeps his formulas and concoctions strictly secret, for a knowledge of them by others would impair if not invalidate his powers.[89] The formulas and recipes are much more numerous and varied than the ailments themselves; for curing fever, for instance, there are not less than seventy-seven remedies, corresponding to seventy-seven causes, i.e. spirits.[90] They range from the simplest prescriptions, e.g. to drink water drawn from a well before sunrise, to the most complicated compounds of herbs, animal and human exuviae and excrements, insects, dirt, etc., accompanied by elaborate verbal formulas and grotesque performances. While certain remedies are the private property of an individual healer and are only effective when performed or suggested by him, others are common knowledge and freely used by the people.

[754] The *znachor*, or *znachorka*, is also an expert in inducing love, causing barren women to conceive, foretelling future events, and even settling difficult family problems.[91] Healers of reputation, like expert weather-men, are comparatively few in number—very often only one in a considerable territory—and are widely sought after. People often travel many miles to consult a master healer, and pay large fees for his services.[92]

The *znachor* ascribes his power to his special endowment from God, and his knowledge of the medicinal properties of different ingredients to a secret source which he cannot divulge. Every healer has his own fast-day, when he communes with God.[93] He knows which wells have water containing therapeutic qualities and what herbs are good for particular diseases. He gathers the herbs at certain seasons of the year and at prescribed hours during the day, and keeps them in readiness at his home. It is noteworthy that this mysterious art of healing, being the pro-

[89] Kolberg, *Pokucie*, iii, 161.

[90] *Ibid.*, p. 170.

[113] [91] Kaindl, R. F. "Zauberglaube bei den Huzulen," *Globus*, lxxvi, 233.

[92] *Ibid.* p. 277; Kolberg, *Pokucie*, iii, 161.

[93] Szuchiewicz, W. *op. cit.*, iv, 297.

7 [healer -- analyst]

755 son suffering from fever, for example, pares the nails of his fingers and toes, and cuts a little hair from the four corners of his head; he then inserts the clippings in the stem of a rotten tree, closes the hole tightly, and runs home as fast as he can, saying: "May you not return until I myself shall come back for you!"[118] Mention might be made here of the belief that hair from one's head should not be thrown on the dung pile, for if a bird should appropriate it in building its nest the person would lose his hair. On the other hand, one can make his hair grow long and thick by throwing a few locks into fire or water.[119]

Human and animal exuviae are also believed to possess valuable curative qualities. Human nails and hair, the bones of meat consecrated on Easter, skin from the head of a dog, the hoof of a horse, and the excrements of domestic animals and fowl all serve as ingredients in the concoctions prepared for different ailments.[120] A cure for a cataract is compounded of the white of an egg, flour, and the dried and pulverized excreta of a child.[121] The excrement of a black cow is one of the ingredients in a remedy for a toothache; pieces of a horse's hoof are used in a fever cure; and the fat of a black cat or a stork forms a necessary element in a concoction to relieve rheumatism.[122] Pain in the eyes is soothed by an application of woman's milk.[123] Warts are removed by wetting them with the foam from a horse's urine. Human urine is considered an emetic and is used as an antidote for alcohol poisoning.[124]

825 754 Among living things, the frog plays the most important role in native medicine. A frog is thought to be endowed with extraordinary powers, which can be used either for good or for evil. A witch, for example, often makes use of a frog, sending it to the house of her enemy to bring affliction upon it. A frog must not be killed; if suspected as the agent of witchcraft, it may only be wrapped up and hung on a beam in the house. A boy who kills a frog may 825 bring death to his father.[125] On the other hand, this amphibian 757 is considered a clean animal. If one is found in a well, for

[118] Kolberg, *Pokucie*, iii, p. 173.
[119] Kolberg, *Przemyskie*, p. 235.
[120] Kolberg, *Pokucie*, iii, 164.
[121] *Ibid.*, p. 163.
[122] *Ibid.*, pp. 164, 167, 171.
[123] Kaindl, *Die Huzulen*, p. 94.
[124] *Ibid.*, p. 95.
[125] Kolberg, *Pokucie*, iii, 137, 144.